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[52] THE NEW PARTY STATUTES IN THE STATES OF THE EASTERN BLOC

665 In the course of the past year the statutes of the Communist parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet occupation zone in Germany have been ratified anew at the party conventions of the respective countries. In the following pages these statutes will be compared with one another and with the statute of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) of October 1952. This comparison is of particular interest because the death of Stalin and the events that followed it intervened between the ratification of the statute of the CPSU and that of the other statutes. The effects of these events have given rise to a number of changes in the statutes, which can be determined to an equal degree in all the cases at hand.

In this connection it is particularly striking that the statute of the Bulgarian Communist Party was affected least of all by the events mentioned, and that in other respects too it is an almost literal copy -- with extremely few exceptions -- of the statute of the CPSU of 1952. Although the other statutes also seem to reflect very clearly the model of the Soviet statute, and although they too are largely merely literal translations, they nevertheless reveal many differences in details. The question of the extent to which these differences simply reflect differences resulting from the natural conditions in the country concerned, or actually reveal differences in the political structure, is a field wide open to conjecture and speculation. In any case, it is certain that the party statute is an excellent indication of the level of "development toward Socialism" which each country is thought to have attained in the opinion of the Communist ideologists, among them, undoubtedly, the Soviet ideologists primarily. In this respect the preamble especially is highly revealing. The preamble has the greatest significance as an explanation of the program. For this reason these preambles -- except in the [53] case of the SED -- will be reproduced in their entirety. The decrees concerning the relation of the party to the army and police units are also of particular interest.

The Hungarian statute is most strongly differentiated from that of the CPSU. This coincides strikingly with the fact that Hungary today occupies a unique position among the states of the Eastern bloc with respect to its economy as well as its internal political setup. In the statute of the Hungarian Communist Party centralization has been developed to the highest degree, leaving very little likelihood that party elements at the lower level might exert influence upon those at a high level. In comparing many individual details one gains the impression

665 that a weak internal stability is to be supported by all the organizational means available. It appears, paradoxically, that in Hungary it is easiest to be taken into the party and to be removed from it again.

In the comparison offered here, I have presented the material, as far as possible, without expressing any opinion about it, in order to leave the judgment up to the reader himself.

Those questions are dealt with first that concern several or all the countries under discussion. Individual countries are dealt with next, with the preamble of the party statute of each one, and with reference to individual points that represent special features of the country and have no counterparts in the other statutes or very few.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In general--that is, with the exception of Bulgaria--concepts like "self-criticism and criticism from below," "party morale (or ethics)," "personal conduct of life" (in the sense of moral demands), and "fight against bureaucracy" are stressed somewhat more strongly.

The variations in the conceptual pattern ("establishment of socialism," instead of "establishment of communism," "people's democracy," or "sovereignty of the workers and farmers," instead of "Soviet order," and so forth) can already be observed, for the most part, from the preambles which are given below in their entirety. To these are added concepts like "national front," "struggle for the re-unification of Germany," and so on. With the exception of Bulgaria--in accordance with its political and geographical position--concepts like "imperialistic agencies," "influences hostile to the people," "remnants of capitalism," and so forth, play a role of some importance, which is not accorded them in the statute of the CPSU.

In all the statutes, the top level of the organization--that is, the executive organ of the central committee--is subdivided into a Politburo and Secretariat, a division such as was carried out de facto in the Soviet Union also after the death of Stalin. The short-lived institution of the party Presidium still exists only on paper in the statutes of the CPSU. The division of responsibility between the Politburo and the Secretariat is formulated in the Bulgarian statute as follows:

> 34. The Central Committee of the BCP will organize the Politburo to supervise the work of the Central Committee between the latter's plenary sessions and to carry on the current work of an organizational and executive character; likewise it will establish the Secretariat to control the carrying out of party

*665

decisions.

The corresponding paragraph in the remaining statutes is in almost literal agreement with this.

The organs set up for intraparty control are now again uniformly called party control commissions. In the Hungarian statute, as in that of the CPSU, the "Committee for Party Control of the Central Committee" possesses authority, that is, fully authorized agents, at the lower party levels, who are "independent of the local organs." In Germany and in Bulgaria, on the other hand, the local party control commissions are in each case appointed and organized by the corresponding (provincial, district, and regional) administrations and are entirely controlled in their activity by the Central Party Control Commission. The Central [54] Commission, on its part, must have its decisions confirmed by the Central Committee. In Poland, on the other hand, the local control commissions are established by the Central Control Commission and they work under its direction. In the Czech statute there are no decrees on the relationship of the Central Party Control Commission to the local control commissions. On the whole, however, the Central Control Commission is subordinated to the general party organs, or at least to the Central Committee. Its functions approximately correspond in all satellite parties to those provided in the statute of the CPSU for the Committee for Party Control of the Central Committee.

The revision commissions (among them also the Central Revision Commission) in none of the statutes reveal any essential differences from the decrees concerned which are contained in the statute of the CPSU. The local revision commissions are appointed by the highest local organ, the conference; they are responsible to it and they are ranked with the other local organs.

In all the statutes of the satellite parties the following sentence from the statute of the CPSU (Art. 59) is missing:

> In rank-and-file organizations with no more than 100 party members the work of the party will, as a rule, be performed by party functionaries who, at the same time, will not be exempted from production work.

The provisions contained in the statute of the CPSU concerning the question as to when a "broad discussion on the union scale" may be regarded as necessary (Art. 28), are lacking in all the other statutes. Likewise the preceding paragraph in the statute of the CPSU concerning the "free and objective discussion of questions involving party policies in the individual party organs or in the party as a whole (also Art. 28), is entirely left out in the Hungarian statute and in the Polish statute has been considerably shortened.

In all the statutes -- with the exception of the Bulgarian -- the following paragraph, which likewise belongs in this context, is also missing: 665*

> 30. In case the Central Committee does not convoke the extraordinary party convention within the time limit established in paragraph 29, the organizations which have called for the convening of the extraordinary party convention have the right to form an organization committee which will be empowered with the rights of the Central Committee in respect to the convening of the extraordinary party convention.

In the paragraph dealing with the "building up of the party and intraparty democracy" there was newly introduced in the Polish, the German, the Czech, and the Hungarian -- but not in the Bulgarian! -- party statute, a passage about the "principle of collective leadership." In the Czech text it reads as follows:

> 26. An integrating constituent of intraparty democracy is collective leadership. The collective leadership is the supreme principle for the actions and the decisions of all party organs and organizations. The application of the principle of collective leadership offers the best guarantee for the rightness of the decisions arrived at and secures wide latitude of initiative for the masses of the party. The principle of collective leadership in no way weakens personal responsibility. The cult of personality is contrary to the principles of a Marxist-Leninist party.

The other statutes read similarly, though phrased more briefly.

In all the statutes -- except for the Bulgarian -- the sentence from the statute of the CPSU (Art. 58) is missing:

> All the Communists who work in the central apparatus of a ministry belong to the party organization that embraces the entire ministry.

In Bulgaria and Hungary, as well as in the Soviet Union, party conferences on the highest (national or federal) level are not mentioned, but only those on a provicial, district, regional, and local scale. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Germany, on the other hand, such conferences have been provided for also on a nation-wide scale. Their tasks and the prerequisites for [55] their convening are treated in great detail. In the statute of the CP of Czechoslovakia the corresponding passage reads as follows:

> 35. In the time between the party conventions the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) will summon conferences on a nation wide scale to deal with

*665 urgent problems of party policy. The delegates to these nation-wide conferences shall be elected at the sessions of the provincial commissions. The number of the delegates and the quotas of representation shall be determined by the KSC. Members of the Central Committee of the KSC who were not elected as delegates will take part in the conference in a consulting capacity.

36. The nation-wide conference will be empowered with the right to alter the party statutes and to exchange a portion of the members of the Central Committee. It has the right to expel from the Central Committee certain of its individual members whom they feel are not certain properly to fulfill the duties of members of the Central Committee, and it has the right to replace them by others; this right extends, however, only to a fifth of the number of the members of the Central Committee elected by the party congress.

The nation-wide conference will complement the number of the members of the Central Committee of the KSC from the number of those candidates who were elected by the party congress, and in their place it shall elect the corresponding number of new candidates of the Central Committee.

37. The decisions of the nation-wide conference are to be confirmed by the Central Committee of the KSC; except for those decisions concerning the new election of members and candidates of the Central Committee. The decisions of the nation-wide conference that have been confirmed by the Central Committee shall be considered binding for all the organizations of the party.

The corresponding decrees in the statute of the SED have practically the same content. However, they are phrased more briefly, and in the Polish statute they have been confined to three sentences dealing with the convening, the election of the delegates, and the voting order of such conferences.

On the level of provinces, districts, regions, and so forth, the corresponding--ordinary and extraordinary--conferences are a kind of local party convention or delegates' gathering with powers that vary in specific details but are essentially the same in the Soviet Union as in the satellite states.

The provisions concerning size, organization, and method of operation of the rank-and-file organizations and their subdivisions (party groups) vary somewhat in details. In principle, however, they are the same in their basic structure and agree with the statute of the CPSU. Only Hungary to a certain extent occupies a special position with a number of additional decrees. (Compare below in the special paragraph

dealing with the Hungarian statute.) The same applies to the lower local organizations, in which certain differences result wholly from a consideration of the respective economic structure and settlement pattern of the country concerned. The peculiar Soviet feature of the individual republics of the Union and of the autonomous republics and regions finds a counterpart, to a certain extent, in the relationship of the Communist Party of Slovakia and the Communist Party of the whole of Czechoslovakia.

In all the statutes the right to control the rank-and-file organizations is now established in their respective administrations, a feature which is also contained in the statute of the CPSU. Excepted from this are not only the ministries and central authorities (as in the statute of the CPSU), but also -- with the exception of Hungary -- all the other state administrative organizations. Here the rank-and-file organizations merely have responsibility for reporting defects that have come to their attention, and the like, to the higher-ranking authorities, that is, both to those of the party and of the state. The party organs on all levels, on the other hand, are expressly charged with the obligation of influencing, directing, and controlling the activities of the elected state bodies (as well as all the other public institutions and organizations), through the rank-and-file party organizations (in Poland it is a question of only the individual party members) which are contained within them. In Hungary however, these obligations are not transferred to the rank-and-file organizations, to be sure, but only to the middle and higher party organs (district, or city, or county, that is, Budapest). On the other hand, this general function, with respect to extent and effectiveness has been formulated much more concisely and more inclusively in the following sentence (Article 25b, and also Article 26b):

[56] ... it must constantly take care that the organs responsible for these matters put into effect the legal rights of the working people and apply all methods to the end that the material, social, and cultural interests of the people shall be satisfied in accordance with them.

The election of the party organs -- insofar as this has been provided for in the party statutes -- in Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Germany must be "secret and democratic"; in the Soviet Union merely "secret"; and in Czechoslovakia it does not have to be either of the two.

The other statutes are more careful than the statute of the CPSU -- except for Hungary -- in threatening severe punishments by the party, especially expulsion from the party. Even the Bulgarian statute is somewhat milder in this matter, the Polish statute is downright

*665 anxious on this score, and the Czech and German statutes are somewhere in between. But while expulsion, as the severest punishment of the party, is used less as a threat and is for that reason not dealt with quite so fully, the other party sanctions, mentioned only very briefly in the statute of the CPSU, are accorded much more space, and in the Polish statute a special section ("II. Procedure Against Party Members in the Case of a Breach of Party Discipline") has even been dedicated to them.

The system of party sanctions is essentially uniform and provides for the following steps (according to the terminology of the statute of the SED):

Warning.
Reprimand.
Severe reprimand.
Temporary interdict to occupy a leading position in the party or in the apparatus of the state. (This step exists only in Bulgaria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.)
Severe censure with threat of expulsion. (This step exists only in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.)
Demotion to the status of a candidate for the duration of at most one year. (Not contained in the Czech statute.)
Expulsion from the party.

The procedure in applying party sanctions is, by and large, uniform also, and it is dealt with in detail in the individual statutes. In all cases the person concerned has the right to present an appeal to higher party authorities. As a matter of principle the party sanctions are decreed by the individual's rank-and-file organization. In more serious cases, however, they must be confirmed by superior authorities. In the case of serious offenses, the superior authorities and the party control commissions are permitted to introduce party procedures and to decree party punishments.

It is only the Hungarian statute that is as free with the threat of expulsion from the party as that of the CPSU, and it says nothing more specific about the party punishments. Even the decree contained in the statute of the CPSU, as in all the other statutes, enjoining "the highest degree of caution and comradely care" and a "careful testing of the complete accuracy of the accusations preferred against the party member" (Article 14, CPSU), has been omitted in the Hungarian statute. Aside from this, the Hungarian and Czech statutes are the only ones that do not have an article corresponding to Article 13 of the statute of the CPSU, which states:

In those cases in which a member of the party has committed

665 offenses punishable by law, he will be expelled from the party, and at the same time the administrative and judicial authorities will be notified concerning the offense.

In being taken into the party the individual who is applying for membership must pass through a period of candidacy. This period has been set at:

One Year in the Soviet Union, in Bulgaria, and in Poland. (In Poland it may, in exceptional cases, be reduced to a period of six month.)

Two years in Czechoslovakia. In the case of workers who have been working for more than two years in industrial produc - tion, however, it is only one year.

[57] One half to two years in the SED (that is, one half year "for workers and agricultural workers who, before they applied for membership, were active in industry or in agriculture for a period of at least five years," as well as "for young workers and agricultural workers"; one year "for all remaining workers, craftsmen, and other lower technical leadership cadres, for members of agricultural production associations"; two years "for employees, active independent farmers, manual laborers, members of the intelligentsia, and all others.")

One half year in Hungary. (However, in exceptional cases, the period of candidacy may be dispensed with altogether.)

To be accepted as a candidate, the individual applicant needs recommendations from members of the party with the following qualifications:

In the Soviet Union and in Bulgaria from three members who have been in the party for at least three years.

In Czechoslovakia and in the SED from two members who have been in the party for at least two years.

In Poland and Hungary from two members who have been in the party for at least one year.

The person presenting the recommendation must be well acquainted with the person he recommends for at least one year -- six months in Hungary -- on the basis of common work.

Taking in former members of other parties is made particularly difficult, and among its prerequisites are five recommendations from party members of many years' standing. An exception to this is the Polish statute, which has no such provision. In the statute of the SED this decree has reference only to parties founded there after 1945. (It therefore is not applicable, for instance, to former members

665 of the NSDAP, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei.)

One of the required recommendations can, in the case of applicants who have come from the Communist youth organization of the country concerned, be replaced by the recommendation of this organization.. This does not, apply to Poland or Czechoslovakia, however. This is undoubtedly related to the fact that in the Czech statute the youth organization and its relation to the party is not mentioned at all, and mentioned comparatively briefly in the Polish statute. On the other hand, in Poland (as in the Soviet Union), "the youth up to the age of twenty is admitted into the party exclusively from the ranks of the Federation of Polish Youth."

In all the statutes -- except the Hungarian -- the desire is clearly evident to see to it that the candidates, after the period of their candidacy has elapsed, will actually either be taken into the party as members, or -- as the case may be -- will be rejected and crossed off the list of candidates. There are to be no "perpetual candidates."

The ordinary party congress, the highest organ of the party in the country, is supposed to be convened every four years (in Poland and in Hungary every three years). The plenary session of the Central Committee is supposed to convene every six months in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia, every four months in Poland and in Germany, every three months in Bulgaria and Hungary. The plenary conference on the next level (province, vojvod ship, federal republic, and so forth) is to be summoned every two years in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Germany, every year and a half in the Soviet Union, every year in Poland and Bulgaria. The plenary session of the provincial committee is supposed to convene at least every three months in Hungary, every two months in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and Poland, every six weeks in Germany and Czechoslovakia.

PARTY AND ARMED FORCES - POLICE AND TRAFFIC SYSTEM

Poland:

55. In military units (army, air force, navy) the party organizations carry out their activities on the basis of special instructions. The work of the party in the army is directed by the chief political administration of the Polish Army. This administration possesses the authority of a department of the Central Committee.

665 Czechoslovakia:

72. The members of the party and candidates (for party membership) in the armed forces join formation organizations as rank-and-file organizations. The founding and work of these formation organizations will be carried out according to the principles laid down by the Central Committee of the KSC.

587 In the version of the Czech statute of December 18, 1952, the "National Security Corps" (that is, the police, gendarmerie), had been included in this regulation.

Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany:

74. The party organizations in the People's Police assigned to barracks and in the traffic system will work on the basis of special instructions confirmed by the Central Committee.

Their political organs are obligated to maintain close contact with local party administrations.

Bulgaria:

The corresponding paragraph in the Bulgarian statute (IX, Arts. 60 to 62) is considerably more detailed and reproduces word for word paragraph X of the statute of the CPSU. The troop units of the Ministry of the Interior are expressly included in the regulation, however, while in the statute of the CPSU they were not even mentioned.

Hungary:

The corresponding paragraph (39) agrees literally with the statute of the CPSU, except that it does not contain the provision concerning a minimum period of party membership for higher functionaries, a provision which is missing elsewhere also throughout the Hungarian statute (see below).

SOVIET UNION

1. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union /CPSU/ is a voluntary fighting federation of like-minded persons, of Communists organized from members of the working class, from the class of actively working farmers, and from the creative intelligentsia.

After the CPSU had organized the union of the workers' class and of the actively working class of farmers, it accomplished through struggle, as a result of the great October Revolution of 1917, the

*665 fall from power of the capitalists and great landowners, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liquidation of capitalism, and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and it guaranteed the establishment of a socialist society.

Now the chief tasks of the CPSU are to build up a comunistic society by a gradual transition from Socialism to Communism, constantly to raise the material and cultural level of this society, to educate the members of the society in the spirit of internationalism and the establishment of fraternal associations among the workers of all countries; and to consolidate in every way possible the active defense of the Soviet homeland against aggressive actions from her enemies.

BULGARIA

1. The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is a voluntary fighting federation of like-minded persons, of Communists organized from members of the working class, from the class of actively working farmers, and from the creative intelligentsia. In its activities it is guided by the theory of Marxist-Leninism.

Under the influence of the great Socialist October Revolution the party of loyal Socialists, which had arisen and been set up as the Marxist party of the workers' class in Bulgaria, in relentless battle against reformism and leftist radicalism, had changed its name to the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1919. By ceaslessly learning from the CPSU, it became organized and grew up into a strongly militant Marxist-Leninist party. It succeeded in organizing the union of the working class and the farmers on the basis of the personal historic experience of the workers of our country, and it managed to place itself at their helm. In the years of the Second World War it united in the Fatherland Front the patriotic forces of the people in the battle against fascism and for the national liberty and independence of Bulgaria. In the favorable international situation which had come into existence as a result of the victory of the Soviet Union in the war, the BKP, finding

665 immediate support in the arrival of the victorious army of the Soviet liberators in the Balkans, organized an armed anti-imperialist and anti-fascist popular uprising, destroyed the fascist dictatorship on September 9, 1944, and established a popular democratic government as its own form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By making use of the disinterested, altruistic help of the Soviet Union and of the historic experience of the CPSU, the BKP, in fraternal co-operation with other countries of the people's democracy, proceeded to the socialistic transformation of the country.

597 Now the main tasks of the BKP are to give capitalism its final deathblow; to eliminate any and all exploitation of man by man, and to guarantee the establishment of a socialistic society, to raise the material and cultural level of the workers constantly, to cement the union of the working class with the actively working farmers' class, to educate the workers in the spirit of socialistic patriotism, internationalism, and the re-establishment of fraternal associations with the workers of all countries, to solidify Bulgarian-Soviet friendship as the most important impetus to our socialistic development; and to strengthen by all forces available the active defense of the fatherland against the aggressive actions of its enemies.

The final goal of the party is the establishment of a communistic society.

Probably purely formal significance is the provision stipulating that an absolute and not a relative majority is required for the election of functionaries and party organs. As a rule it may be assumed that such elections produce the usual 90 to 100 percent in favor of the proposed candidate anyway.

POLAND

The United Polish Workers' Party [PZPR] is the leading organized department of the Polish working class, the leading force of the Polish people. It is the highest organizational form of the working class and the mouthpiece for the interests of the workers in the city and on the land.

The PZPR is guided in its activities by the doctrine of

*665 Marxist-Leninism.

The PZPR leads the people on the path that has been opened up to humanity by the great Socialist October Revolution. The Polish people entered upon this course thanks to the historic victory of the Soviet Union over Hitlerite fascism, thanks to the liberation of the homeland from the yoke of the Hitlerite occupation, and, finally, thanks to the victorious attainment of sovereignty on the part of the workers with the working class at their head.

The creation of the United Polish Workers' Party terminated the more than fifty-year-old schism in the ranks of the Polish working class. It brought about the victory of Marxist-Leninism over reformism and nationalism.

The creation of the PZPR strengthened the forces of the working class and heightened their leading role in the battle of the creative proletariat for the consolidation of the people's democracy, for the strengthening of Polish independence, in the battle for the destruction of the resistance on the part of the capitalistic forces supported by imperialism, in the battle for the establishment of Socialism.

The PZPR is ceaselessly cementing the union of the workers and the farmers as the unshakable foundation of the sovereignty of the people. It guarantees the interconnection of city and rural districts, leads the struggle of farmers with small or medium-sized farms against exploitation by the kulaks, until the final, complete annihilation of the latter, and it marches forward on the course that creates the preconditions for the planned, voluntary rise of the farming masses to the socialist economy, on the path of swift and thorough-going advance in well-being and culture throughout the country.

The PZPR unites the intelligentsia with the masses of the people in the establishment of Socialism, in the endeavor to extend education and culture, and to promote the flowering of the sciences and arts. It endeavors to guarantee work for the youth of the workers, farmers, and intellectuals, and to assure their general progress and development. It supports the ZMP (Federation of Polish Youth), the leading organization of the younger generation.

The PZPR practices full equality for woman by providing her with possibilities of working and being active in all areas of life, in the state, in the economy, as well as in the social

*665 life. This is done especially through a constantly more inclusive care program of state protection for mother and child.

The PZPR strives for the union of all patriotic forces in society within the ranks of the National Front on behalf of the people's Poland, its development and its progress, in the name of the fight for freedom among peoples, against the aggressive intentions of the enemies of the Polish people--both the remnants of capitalism in the country itself and hostile imperialistic forces.

The PZPR is the preserver of the best traditions of the fighters of the Polish people for freedom and for social progress.

The PZPR is the heir of the revolutionary tradition of the Polish workers' movement and of the international proletariat, the SDKPiL, KPP, PPR, and of the left unity wing of the PPS.

The PZPR proceeds in harmony with the principles of the international solidarity of the working class, and it draws its doctrine from the struggles of the Polish and the international workers' movement, in particular from the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading section of the world-wide workers' movement, organizer and leader of the victorious revolution and of the establishment of Communism in the Soviet Union.

The PZPR firmly combines the preservation of independence and the establishment of Socialism in Poland with the fight for freedom by the international camp of democracy and Socialism against hostile imperialistic forces and fascism, for peace, human freedom, democracy, and Socialism. This campaign is being conducted under the leadership of the Soviet Union.

The historic victories of the Polish workers, achieved under the leadership of the PZPR, are contained in the constitution of the Polish people's republic, that great charter of the freedom of the Polish people.

The PZPR constitutes a fighting organization of one mold. It is ceaselessly increasing the number of its workers and drawing its strength from the solidarity of its ranks, from the unity of its will and its activity.

> The most important tasks of the PZPR today are: Creating a socialistic society, guaranteeing constant growth in the well-being and the culture of the working class, as well as of all workers in the city and in the country, by means of constant development of production on the basis of improved technique; educating the members of society in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism; strengthening the people's state and consolidating the defense of the fatherland.

The prerequisites for membership in the party do not exclude--as they do in the CPSU--every employer from the outset. The following can become members:

> Workers, farmers, with small and medium-sized farms, members of the intellegentsia, and every person actively engaged in work, who feels himself called to it, who is active, who has confidence in his environment, and is dedicated to the cause of Socialism.

The decrees concerning the duties of the party members are phrased somewhat differently from those in the statutes of the CPSU. For example, the paragraph about the choice of cadre is missing (choice according to aptitude only, not according to personal relations), though it appears in the other party statutes. The stipulations concerning uniform party discipline, lack of candor toward the party, watchfulness, and the keeping of party and state secrets are stated more briefly. On the other hand, some duties are enumerated which clearly show an endeavor to increase the significance of the party and of its members in daily political and economic life, and to heighten its influence upon those who are not members. Of the party member is required, among other things (Article 2.):

> ...to take an active part in the political life of the party and of the country, to be ready to sacrifice himself for the cause of the working people against exploiters, to fight against imperialistic fascism and reactionary forces, to consolidate the international solidarity of the working class, to serve native Poles and the cause of Socialism faithfully....
>
> ...to organize the people for the struggle to accomplish the tasks of the party....

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> ...to protect the integrity of the party ranks, to preserve the high moral level of the party member....
>
> ...by personal example to spur on those who are not members of the party to raise their working productivity and their working discipline.

Particularly detailed is the provision that the person who recommends someone for acceptance into the party "should in so doing be convinced that he is recommending a valuable companion to the party. A party member who has given his recommendation lightly or not in good faith will be held responsible for this by the party." This sentence seems all the more severe in view of the fact that elsewhere in the Polish statute practically no threats of punishment are expressed.

For the endeavor to counteract the passivity of many members of the party, and to stir them to action, the following sentence, which is not included in the statute of the CPSU, is also highly characteristic:

> A member of the party who has not taken part in the life of the party for a fairly long time, who does not take part in the work of the party organization, and is indifferent toward the party, can (!) be struck off the list of the party members.

No compulsory minimum period of party membership is provided for in Poland for secretaries of the Vojvod-ship and of the district committees or of the rank-and-file organizations.

Of the tasks of the rank-and-file organizations--besides those that are mentioned in the statute of the CPSU--the following are named: To campaign against reactionary propaganda and sabotage in the [61] economy; to increase the watchfulness of the masses of the people with respect to all misdeeds of the internal and external enemies of the people's Poland; to provide for the proper development of the labor unions, the fraternal associations, and other social institutions; to protect the political, moral, and professional education of youth.

The Polish Central Committee is able itself to depose individual members of its organization and to replace them by new ones (who already were Central Committee candidates once before). But,

their number may not exceed at any time one fifth of the total number of committee members elected by the party convention. 665

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) is a voluntary fighting federation of like-minded persons, Communists organized from members of the working class, of the actively working farmers' class, and of the creative intelligentsia. In its activities it is guided by the theory of Marxist-Leninism.

The KSC, which organized the union of the working class of the actively working farmers' class, and of the creative intelligentsia, in order to break the power of the exploiting classes and to renew national freedom, achieved, as a result of the historic victory of the Soviet Union over German fascism, the founding of the people's democratic order, and with the help of the Soviet Union it brought about the establishment of Socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Making use of the rich experience of the CPSU, the KSC set as its main task: to build up a socialistic order of society, constantly to raise the material and cultural level of the working people, to educate the working people in the spirit of socialistic patriotism and proletarian internationalism, faithfulness, and friendship towards the Soviet Union, and in the creation of fraternal associations with the working people of all countries; and to consolidate the active defense of the homeland against the aggressive actions of its enemies.

The final goal of the party is the establishment of a Communist society.

The decrees concerning the organizations and highest organs of the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS)--subordinated to the KSC, but to a certain degree autonomous-correspond to those of the KSC except for the two provisions:

> ... The Central Committee of the KSS proposes to the KSC the representatives (of the party) for the autonomous provincial government (sbor povereniku) and for the Slovakian National Council....

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... will at regular intervals account to the KSC concerning its activities.

Concerning the tasks of rank-and-file organization it is stated--aside from the decrees contained in the statute of the CPSU--that it must

> ... help the members of the party and the candidates who have been entrusted with a public function or who are performing work outside the party, to fulfill their duties in an exemplary manner and to see to it that they are responsible to the party organs for this activity of theirs.

SOVIET OCCUPATION ZONE IN GERMANY

Since the text of the SED statute is, comparatively, more easily accessible to the German reader, a reproduction of the preamble has been dispensed with here. The new statute of the SED was published for the first time in "Neues Deutschland" for April 10, 1954.

Employers are not excluded from membership in the party as a matter of principle:

> As members of the party are accepted those workers who are active and dedicated to the cause of the party, employees, farmers who are members of co-operatives, independent, actively working farmers and manual laborers, as well as members of the intelligentsia.

Of the members of the party it is required--over and above the duties contained in the statute of the CPSU--that they take part in the life of the party and attend the party gatherings; convince and win over the masses, and learn from them; be an example not only in professional but also in political and personal life. The passage about uniform party discipline, which in its first draft corresponded exactly to the statute of the CPSU, has been greatly shortened in the final version.

/62/ Criticism of party members and party functionaries is expressly permitted, not only at the party gatherings but also in the party's daily press.

In the SED the party member has the obligation not only--as in Czechoslovakia--to report any change in job or change in residence

but he must even inform the party beforehand of his intention to make such a change. (The statutes of the CPSU and of the other countries contain no provisions whatever concerning the duty to make reports.) 665

Paragraph IX ("Party and Free German Youth") contains a recognition of the work of the FDJ (Freie Deutsch Jugend: Free German Youth). In spirit it virtually corresponds with the parallel paragraph in the statute of the CPSU, in its formulation, however, it diverges from it to a considerable degree.

HUNGARY

1. The name of the party is: Hungarian Workers' Party (MDP). The MDP is the party of the working class, of the actively working people. In its ranks it unites the progressive forces of the Hungarian people: the working class, the working farmers, and the best among the intellectuals. The party is a voluntary fighting federation. In its actions it is guided by the teachings of Marx--Engels--Lenin--Stalin.

The MDP preserves faithfully the revolutionary heritage of the Hungarian working class. It is the continuation of the glorious battle for freedom of the Hungarian people and it perpetuates and further develops the progressive tendencies of Hungarian history.

The MDP created the unity of the working class and the fraternal confederation between the workers and the active farmers. Under the leadership of the party and with the help of the mighty Soviet Union as it liberated our fatherland, the Hungarian people terminated the sovereignty of the exploiters and created in Hungary the people's democratic order. The party educates--in the spirit of socialistic patriotism and of proletarian internationalism--the workers' class and the Hungarian people toward friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the workers of the world, and by all means at its command it consolidates the defense of the fatherland.

The highest task of the MDP is the establishment of a socialist society, the constant raising of the material and cultural level of the working people. The final goal of the party is the establishment of a communistic society.

In divergence from all the other statutes it gives no provisions

665 stipulating that members and candidates of the Central Committee may not present recommendations for persons who want to enter the party for the first time. Likewise there are no provisions concerning a special procedure in expelling members of the Central Committee from the party.

In paragraph V ("The Organizational Structure of the Party"), in the title of which no mention is made of "intraparty democracy," Article 26 of the statute of the CPSU is missing. It states:

> 26. At the elections of the party organs the voting by lists is prohibited. Each individual candidatry must be voted upon, on which occasion all party members are guaranteed the absolute right to reject candidates and to criticize them....

In the paragraph dealing with the highest organs of the party the provision ordinarily contained in all the statutes is not mentioned:

> The party convention is considered as empowered to make decisions if no less than half the number of all the members of the party who were represented at the last regular party convention are represented at it.

Concerning the Central Committee there is the following additional statement (Article 17):

> The members of the Central Committee have equal rights. The members of the Central Committee (thus not only those of the Politburo, or of the Secretariat, and so forth) must be informed about all important questions.

The sentence above concerning the equal rights of the members of the Committee is a stereotype that recurs in all the subordinate party organs.

It is expressly stipulated (Article 18c) that the First Secretary of the Central Committee is to be elected by the Central Committee itself (and not by the party congress). In exceptional cases the Central Committee may co-opt new members in the intervals between the party 637 congresses, but only up to 15 per cent of the full complement of its members (Article 20).

Neither for the Central Committee secretaries nor for other party functionaries is a minimum period of membership in the party required, as is the case in the other countries. For this, on the other hand, even in the rank-and-file organizations, the First Secretary who has been elected must be confirmed by the Central Committee.

Among the responsibilities of the Central Commission there is

445* mentioned expressly (Article 21c), among others, that it is supposed

> ...to guard against the possibility of elements that are harmful to the working population and to the moral standards, as well as enemies of the people, insinuating themselves into the party.

Concerning the duties of the lower organs of the party, the following sentence (Article 26c) is to be found, which shows the importance attached to work in the fields:

> The regional party committee is the rank-and-file organization designed to steer the village party organizations. Through responsible political action the development of the machine stations, the agricultural co-operatives (Kolchose), and the state farms (Sowchose) is to be guaranteed. The political work among the workers at the machine stations, the agricultural co-operatives, and the state farms, as well as among the working farmers with individual farmsteads, must constantly be cultivated. Care must be taken for the constant consolidation of the association between the workers' class and the working farmers' class, as well as for the improvement of the work of the village party organizations so that agricultural production will constantly be raised.

To this corresponds Article 32b, according to which it is the task of the rank-and-file organizations--

> ...forcefully to arouse the workers in the factories, in the machine stations, on the state farms, and in all places of production, by means of the work of political enlightenment; to contribute to the fulfillment of the plan, to the raising of productivity, improvement of quality, consolidation of working discipline, to the development of working contests and to the movement of peak-production workers. In the villages it must educate through its work of political enlightenment the members of the agricultural co-operatives and the active independent farmers toward the improvement of the agricultural economy and the raising of production....

Also the fact that for "field workers and active farmer" in general the lowest membership fee of all has been set (Article 54) shows the interest in the work on the land.

The strong centralization within the party finds expression, among other things, in Articles 30 and 51, to which there are no corresponding articles in the statutes of the other countries:

*665

30. The local party committees are to be confirmed, in the final analysis, by the Central Committee. The Central Committee is entitled, in cases in which sufficient grounds for doing so seem to exist, to dissolve individual party committees or to annul the election of individual members of the party committees. Under extraordinary circumstances the Central Committee is empowered to appoint an interim party committee.

51. The Central Committee may start proceedings against each and any member of the party who is harming the interests or the discipline of the party, and it may resort to measures which will restore order. The Central Committee is empowered to dissolve such party organizations as appear to counteract the goals and the principles or the statute of the party.

The last-named article belongs in the special section(XIV), which deals with party discipline. This section exists in the Hungarian--elsewhere only in the Polish--statute. Its introductory sentences (Article 42) are couched in an extremely emphatic way. They demand a "truly iron discipline" and they conclude with the words:

> The MDP can only preserve its unity and its strength through an unrelenting campaign against seditious and undisciplined elements.

The following articles of this section are also worthy of note:

> 44. The party committees...shall elect disciplinary commissions from their ranks. These commissions shall investigate questions of a disciplinary nature, and they shall report about them to the party committee.
>
> 50. Decisions concerning expulsion from the party or other disciplinary punishments may not be made public without prior permission from the higher party organ or from the Central Control Commission.

The Editors

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El Europe El

[For a discussion of the influence of the statute of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of October 1952 on the party statutes in the states of the eastern bloc (i.e. Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and East Germany) and a reprint of the preambles to the respective party statutes, see El Europe, 10: Mehnert, category 116, entire source]